STRICTURES

ON A

PAMPHLET

Written by Thomas Paine,

ON THE

ENGLISH SYTEM OF FINANCE:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

SOME REMARKS ON THE WAR,

AND OTHER NATIONAL CONCERNS.

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MR. PAINE, intoxicated with his Epheſian-like fame, has lately written on the decline and fall of the Engliſh Syſtem of Finance, in the vain hope of infuſing jealouſy into the minds of her foreign and other creditors.

His impotence of words and unfounded aſſertions would excite deriſion, if the malevolence of his purpoſe did not incur abhorrence. In this arduous hour, it becomes every good ſubject to endeavour to expoſe to public deteſtation the deſigns of an incendiary, whoſe ſole aim is to goad and plunge ſociety into diſpondency and anarchy. This Eſſayiſt, therefore, would mean to offer certain deſultory obſervations on the pamphlet in queſtion, and to add a few remarks on the war, and other national concerns.

Before we proceed to inveſtigate Mr. Paine's pàmphlet, we muſt intreat the reader's indulgence to take a brief retroſpect of this kingdom for ſome time previous to the eſtabliſhment of the Bank and funding ſyſtem, and to ſhew that they were created by profound wiſdom and policy, and that they have been productive of great and happy conſequences to theſe kingdoms.

Before the diſcoveries of Columbus, Europe had little commerce; the repreſentative ſigns of wealth were very ſcarce, and increaſed ſlowly indeed for many years after that great event. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign her cuſtoms rented for twenty thouſand pounds per annum; her lands at Penton Ville, and in the other vicinites of her capital, rented but for one ſhilling per acre: the greateſt eſtates in the kingdom did not exceed two thouſand per annum; and the city of London did not include one brick houſe.

At length the mines of the new world were worked to advantage, and the pacific reign of the firſt James enabled his ſubjects to avail themſelves of their natural advantages, and to lay the foundation of ſeveral of theſe

manufactures ſince brought to ſuch amazing perfection. By theſe means, during the laſt century, the kingdom acquired wealth comparatively great beyond all former affluence. Population and cultivation ſurpaſſed probability, and the greateſt deſigns were executed in the infancy or previous to the funded ſyſtem. The cuſtoms at the Revolution exceeded as forty to one thoſe of Queen Elizabeth: in fine, the repreſentative ſigns of wealth increaſed ſo faſt, that the depreciation of money, fixing its value in the time of Elizabeth, was more conſiderable previous to the erection of paper credit than it has been ſince, reckoning even to the preſent hour; and this depreciation took place from Naples to Ruſſia, in proprotion to the facility with which thoſe nations acquired the imported precious metals; and ſuch depreciation, notwithſtanding the grave which ſilver finds in the Eaſt, will invariably proceed until the ſources of Britiſh and other European induſtry are choaked up or extinguiſhed by ſuch calamities as are now impending over Europe.

In purſuing this ſubject we muſt be permitted to glance alſo at the relative ſituation

of Europe, particularly of France, which ſince the time of Lewis the Eleventh has been moſt impolitically permitted to aggrandize herſelf, to the great danger of her neighbours.

The avarice of our ſeventh Henry gave her Brittany; and, in the ſequel, the civil wars of this kingdom, and the weak government of Spain, promoted and accelerated her views of aggrandizement. The great abilities of Richlieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; the genius of Condé, Turenne, and Luxemburg, created armies and navies to Lewis the Fourteenth, which placed the ſurrounding nations at his mercy, particularly as the Kings of England, the natural guardians of Europe, ſaw him with indifference poſſeſs Alſace, and ſeize from Spain the rich provinces of Franche-Comté, Artois, and the beſt countries of Flanders. The misfortunes of James the Second were perhaps more occaſioned by his impolitic bias to France, than to his bigotry; for this kingdom and the reſt of Europe then ſpurned the diſgraceful thought of being conquered by France, although the chains intended to have been impoſed were infinitely leſs gal-

ling and deſtructive to ſociety than thoſe forged by the preſent Huns of that nation.

Fortunately for Europe William the Third aroſe, and became the ſoul of a league which ſaved Europe from impending deſtruction.

Although the Dutch were unarmed, the Germans poor and divided, the Spaniards impotent by a weak government, the Britiſh kingdoms torn by party; yet they abhorred the idea of committing political ſuicide by ſigning the death-warrant to their honour, independance, property and religion, as ſeveral of their degenerate decendants have in our days baſely done.

To oppoſe the formidable power of Lewis, to preſerve the independance not only of his kingdom, but of Europe, (for the proſperity and independance of this kingdom is ever inſeparably connected with the fate of the reſt of Europe,) William was, by the moſt imperious neceſſity, compelled to anticipate of poſterity, by borrowing on the ſecurity of future taxes; and in ſo doing, he acted for the nation as wiſely and beneficially as the anceſtor of Lord G—— would have done, if he had left his heir chargeable for the thirty thouſand

pounds with which he is ſaid to have purchaſed the eſtate of P——co, which at preſent cannot be worth leſs than one million ſterling:

William having eſtabliſhed the conſtitution, was enabled to give birth to the funded ſyſtem; for with free nations can ſuch a ſyſtem only exiſt. His people clearly perceived the wiſdom of this meaſure, and that without ſuch anticipation they could not have reſiſted the univerſal monarchy projected by Lewis, who brought more numerous armies into the field than all-conquering Rome had ever commanded. Unfortunately William did not live to end this war; and the Engliſh negociators at the treaty of Utrecht, being party tools, did not negociate as he had planned, or Marlborough fought. If they had, probably a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon would now wield the ſceptre of France, and Europe be in profound peace.

Indeed in conſequence of the wounds France received in that war, ſhe gladly continued in peace thirty years; and if we may credit the late King of Pruſſia, ſhe was reluctantly forced into the war of 1744.

The Engliſh funds have exhibited the moſt uſeful and dignified object that ever occurred in the hiſtory of mankind.

Although it is confeſſed that the unremitted enterprize and induſtry of this kingdom attracts the ſilver of Mexico, and the gold of Brazil and Africa, yet we cannot ſuppoſe that ſuch gradual influx would ſo pre-eminently and rapidly have advanced the manufactures, commerce, and cultivation of this kingdom, as the joint operation of the funded ſyſtem and the ſaid precious metals.

Many and great benefits accrue to ſociety by the operation of the funds, where the orphan, the widow, the aged, the infirm, and all other deſcriptions of capitaliſts, place their money with the moſt perfect eaſe and ſecurity. The intereſt, invariably paid with the moſt ſcrupulous regularity, immediately circulates through the body politic, as geneally and beneficially as the blood through the human frame.

If the funds did not exiſt, thoſe wealthy deſcriptions could not inveſt one-fourth of their money in mortgages; and if ſo placed, the intereſt, in the very nature of things,

would ſeldom be regularly paid; and this would prove as diſadvantageous to the ſaid creditors as to the commerce and revenues of the kingdom.

The very numerous claſs of the public creditors, and their more numerous dependants, muſt ever be warmly attached to a conſtitution on which their exiſtence depends; and the attachment of a body of men ſo conſiderable is an advantage which every wiſe government will always juſtly prize. If the intereſt be thus punctually paid, the ſecurity for the principal is moſt indubitable, namely, a kingdom ever renowned for the ſacred inviolability of its faith, which, by its excellent conſtitution, climate, ſituation, internal and external wealth, exceeds all others. This moſt ample ſecurity never can be ſhaken but with the conſtitution; *Decus humani generis*; to which every man of virtue acquainted with it will beſtow Father Paul's wiſh, *Eſto perpetuo*.

The national debt, conſiderable as it is, is not, in truth, a heavier burden on the nation at preſent than ſome eighty years ago, when it did not exceed fifty millions; particularly if we take into conſideration the vaſt increaſe

of money, which gives a proportional ability to bear it; and this every one converſant in affairs may illuſtrate by his own experience; for he muſt know, that eſtates properly purchaſed eighty or a hundred years ago, would at this time ſell or mortgage for three, four, five, ſix, or eight times the ſum they then coſt.

Moſt certainly, therefore, an eſtate which at the Revolution yielded 1000l. per annum, and now rents for five times that ſum, is able at preſent to pay four times the amount of the taxes which it could have done in 1688.

Mr. PITT's admirable regulation of an annual million for the diſcharge of the national debt, is the greateſt and moſt important operation that ever took place in finance. It has paid off eighteen millions; and, in forty-three years, will nearly extinguiſh the debt contracted before this war.

It may be ſafely aſſerted, that, except in Great Britain or Ireland, money cannot elſewhere be ſafely entruſted, ſeeing a great part of Europe is in the hands of freeboters; not even in Venice, which, amidſt her impene-

trable lagunes, ſeems ſunk in the general depravity, and ſuffers her territory to be ſhamefully violated. The juvenile ſtate of America may, indeed, be rapidly improved into ſtability and great importance, if her wiſe Preſident could attain longevity, and if the reaſonable part of America can ſupport his government againſt the French party, aided by the turbulent ſpirits who emigrate to that country.

Human bleſſings are ſaid to have concomitant evils; ſo even the funds and the banking ſyſtem are thought to have their diſadvantages.

It has often been alledged, that the facility of obtaining loans has more than once encouraged Miniſters precipitately to enter on war. But this common-place objection can have little weight; for certain it is, that a Miniſter is more intereſted in preſerving peace than in waging war, and for this plain reaſon, —becauſe in peace he really controuls events, whereas in war they often depend on numberleſs contingencies which controul him.

It is alſo thought that paper credit often creates unbounded means to commercial men,

enabling them to enterprize ſpeculations ruinous to themſelves, and injurious to the community; that it ſtrongly tends to augment the prices of the neceſſary articles of life, to the detriment of annuitants, ſtipendiaries, and more eſpecially to the laborious claſſes, if, as humanely ſuggeſted by the late Mr. Adam Smith, the manufacturer does not always apportion wages to the riſe of proviſions, and to the advance which he adds to his goods under pretence of ſuch riſe of proviſions.

It is alſo alledged that it generates an univerſal commercial ſpirit, inimical to real patriotiſm, and ſo pernicious as finally to dig its own grave, as fatally experienced by Holland. And this ſeems the great evil of commerce; which, though by its virtues it has eminently conduced to elevate Europe from barbariſm, yet, by its vices, it ſeems again to threaten her with that misfortune, by rendering men egotiſts, that is, by rendering them ſordid, ſelfiſh, and concentrating them into themſelves alone.

After this long digreſſion, we return to Mr. Paine's pamphlet; in the firſt part of

which he confidently aſſerts the inſufficiency of our funded ſyſtem, from the experiments already made on paper money in America and France.

The continental money was iſſued by the Americans when contending for empire with a powerful nation, conſequently they could give no certain ſecurity for its re-payment.—They emitted it alſo to an immenſe amount, entirely diſproportioned to their means; wherefore it gradually depreciated until it almoſt fell to nothing, as it had clearly been foreſeen by every man of underſtanding in, or connected with, that country.

The aſſignats of France are well known to have been a revolutionary meaſure, that is, a device to ſtrip every man in France of his property, to over-run Europe, and to convulſe ſociety. It was multiplied beyond calculation; and, when it had anſwered the ends intended by theſe ſcourges of God, they were as much intereſted in its annihilation as they had been in creating it. The compariſon, therefore, of aſſignats to the funds of Great-Britain, is as monſtrous and irrelevant, as if he had compared the forged notes of a

ſwindler to the bills of a Drummond, a Hope, a Child, or a Coutts.

In page 2, he enumerates the expences of the wars ſince 1696; and, becauſe they have been too frequent, and have progreſſively advanced in their expenditure, he inſiſts that in future they will be as frequent, and that, in conſequence of the funded ſyſtem, the expence in another century will augment to ſuch an immenſe ſum as no nation can bear.

He unjuſtly imputes the vaſt progreſſion in the expence of modern wars to the depreciation of money occaſioned by the funded ſyſtem; whereas the truth is, that the expence of the wars of 1756 and 1775 ought to have exceeded, as four or five to one, that of 1697, becauſe we employed much greater force by ſea and land, and on a theatre of war much more expenſive and diſtant.—Our colonial poſſeſſions became much more extenſive; thoſe of our enemies increaſed proportionally. —They augmented their navies and armies; we therefore were obliged to increaſe our forces, eſpecially in the naval line, the bulwark of our commerce and conſequence.

If we look to the beginning of the laſt century, we perceive fleets and armies not one ſixth part ſo conſiderable as towards the latter end of it. The fleet of Queen Elizabeth can ſcarcely be named with the navy of King William, and his did not carry more than one third of the men and guns now borne by the ever-triumphant fleets of Great Britain.

Page 4, 5, and 6, he aſſumes much fancied conſequence, by diſcovering, as he pretends, a ratio to determine the diſſolution of our funds, in the progreſſive accumulation of each ſucceeding war, and, vain of his pretended diſcovery, exultingly exclaims, "What elſe "can account for one war coſting twenty-one "millions, and another one hundred and ſixty "millions?"—which, it ſeems, is the ſum he allots for the expence of the preſent war.

It is to be repeated, that if the funds had never exiſted, the preſent war unavoidably muſt be much more expenſive than any former war, becauſe we are obliged to make much greater offenſive and defenſive efforts againſt the preſent than againſt any former enemy.

France, by her Revolutionary Government, the tyranny of which words cannot adequately expreſs, is infinitely more dangerous and formidable than in the zenith of her monarchial power. She wills, and dares, what no legal government can do, even for its juſt defence. Men and property, principal and intereſt, ſhe puts all in requiſition; and ſhe ſells, as it were, her whole eſtate, to expend it in litigation for the ruin of her neighbours; who, as if unmindful of their danger, begrudge a part of their ſubſtance to preſerve their independence, property, and religion.—By her tyranny, deluſion and miſery, all her ſubjects are ſoldiers, and they unite the ferocity of military barbarians with the knowledge of tactics.—In ſhort, for a *time*, ſhe poſſeſſes many reſources unattainable by eſtabliſhed governments; ſhe draws military talents from obſcurity; ſhe profits by all the deluſions of Hope, and by all the dread terrors which Tyrrany can inflict or inſpire.

No wonder then that this kingdom, poorly ſupported, or deſerted by the reſt of Europe, has incurred great expence in this unexampled and ever-to-be deplored war againſt human

kind,—this probable viſitation againſt all human nature.

It is to be hoped that, if the preſent war can be terminated on juſt and honorable terms, this nation will not again be ſpeedily involved in war. But if, by the ambition or perfidy of our enemies, they again ſhould force us into war, or if unfortunately we are conſtrained to prolong the preſent, moſt certainly it does not follow, that, of neceſſity, we muſt always continue to increaſe our public debt. In ſuch caſe, doubtleſs, in preference to conſiderable loans, Government would wiſely adopt Mr. Pulteney's mode of raiſing the ſupplies annually, by a tax on the aggregate amount of the real and perſonal property of the kingdom. By ſuch, or on the principle ſuggeſted by that excellent patriot Sir Francis Blake Delaval, if the nation be juſt to herſelf, ſhe may carry on the war until her enemies adopt a more temperate conduct.

Page 8, Mr. Paine obſerves, "that one of "the amuſements that has kept up the farce "of the Funded Syſtem is, that the intereſt is "regularly paid; but as the intereſt is always "paid in Bank notes, and as Bank notes can

" always be coined for the purpoſe, this mode " of paying proves nothing."

Every public creditor, from the peer to the menial ſervant, can diſprove this monſtrous miſrepreſentation. They will acknowledge that, when their dividends become due, it is entirely optional with them to receive payment either in gold or Bank notes, which are no legal tender. Now it is really aſtoniſhing that, during the courſe of a century, not one of the numerous public creditors could diſcover, as Paine has done, that they are always paid in Bank notes coined for the purpoſe.—He takes pains to quote, from reſpectable authority, that the current coin of this kingdom does not exceed twenty millions ſterling; and ſtates, that of this ſum no more than four millions can fall to the ſhare of the capital, and conſequently no more than a million thereof is poſſeſſed by the Bank.

When it is conſidered that this great capital is the emporium of the commerce of the world, and the reſidence of the nobility, gentry, and other opulent perſons of the Britiſh Empire and its dominions, we cannot entertain a doubt but that a conſiderable part of

the current coin is ever ſtationary in the capital; and that if it were really neceſſary, a very principal part of it, in the very nature of things, muſt always be in the poſſeſſion or vortex of the Bank, as well by the individual and general wealth of the Bank directors, as by their being depoſitaries of the collected taxes of the kingdom.

Page 10, he affects to be witty on Mr. Pitt's excellent regulation for paying off the national debt; he compares it to a lame man endeavouring to overtake a hare.

It is nevertheleſs a mathematical truth, that it will extinguiſh the debt nearly in the time already mentioned; and if, as reported, the miniſter intends to create an additional half million to be veſted in the commiſſioners for the ſame purpoſe, the debt would be reduced in little more than twenty years to ſuch a ſum as every well-wiſher to his country would deſire, if it were only to accommodate orphans, and other deſcriptions, whoſe intereſt money, poured into circulation, ſo much benefits ſociety. Nor can this be thought exaggeration if regard is paid to Doctor Price, who ſays, "that a penny put out at our Saviour's birth

" at 5 per cent. compound intereſt, would " have increaſed to a greater ſum than would " be contained in 2000100 of earths all ſolid " gold; but if put out at ſimple intereſt, in " the ſame time would only have amounted " to ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence." He adds, " a million borrowed annually for 20 years, " will pay off in this time fifty-five millions " three per cent. ſtocks, if diſcharged at ſixty " pounds in money for every hundred pounds " ſtock; and in forty years more, from loans, " three hundred and thirty five millions, that " is, three hundred and eighty-eight milli- " ons, in all, would be paid off; the addi- " tion of 19 years to this period would pay " off one thouſand millions."

In page 10, he employs many words to cavil at or reprehend thoſe who proclaim or boaſt of the national reſources.

Manufactures at preſent may be ſaid to have little or no exiſtence but in the Britiſh kingdoms; Spain, Portugal, Ruſſia, and America, can import but inconſiderable quantities except from this country: Sweden and Denmark can hardly be called manufacturing nations. Holland and Flanders no longer

exiſt for commerce; great part of Germany is convulſed by France; and her exports to Holland, the Rhine, Flanders and Italy, are Soldiers and Iron; and from theſe countries ſhe only imports their ſpoils; but this commerce does not promiſe to be ſo durable as the execration of thoſe nations, ſo bereaved of their liberty and property.

Whatever exaggeration party, or the ſpirit of murmur, ſo natural to human kind, may ſuggeſt, this nation is far from being in a ſtate of declenſion, and, comparatively, feels few of the evils which at this time ſo deplorably afflict the reſt of Europe. In no period of Engliſh hiſtory were the people more comfortably lodged, cloathed, and nouriſhed, than at preſent. The rich receive their rents punctually; the farmers are become very wealthy; the manufacturer receives his price for his goods; the merchant exports them to advantage; and the condition of the labouring claſſes is alleviated by advanced wages, and the beneficent attention of the rich.

In page 11, Paine ſearches into the receſſes of nature for metaphyſical weapons to militate againſt loans and the ſyſtem of the funds.

He ſays that nature operates always by renovation, and hates additions in perpetual progreſſion.

In this reſpect the analogy betwixt the moral and phyſical world does not ſeem very obvious; certain it is, however, that the wiſeſt men in all ages have unanimouſly favoured the accumulation of property, as the very corner ſtone of ſociety. Indeed Mr. Paine may be excuſed for his inexperience on this head, for he ſeems to have ever been ſo intent on revolutions, that probably he has not attended to ſuch *unimportant matters* as property, and its benign effects on ſociety.

Page 11 and 12 he ſays, that "thoſe who "had formerly predicted that the funded "ſyſtem would break up when the debt "ſhould amount to one hundred and fifty "millions, erred only in not diſtinguiſhing "between inſolvency and actual bankruptcy."

No doubt, certain writers long ſince have dogmatically pronounced that the national debt could not ſafely exceed one hundred, or one hundred and fifty millions. Experience has clearly refuted thoſe authors, who did

not reflect that the national induſtry was not ſtationary, but proceeded, as it were, on the ratio of compound intereſt; that the mines of Aſia, Africa, and America, are inexhauſtible, and that their produce keep pace with the increaſing population of theſe countries; that a very conſiderable portion of their treaſure would, directly or indirectly, find its way to this kingdom if it continues its induſtry, which it will do as ſurely as its rivers run to the ſea, whilſt its preſent happy conſtitution is preſerved. Indeed if Europe can ſurvive the dreadful tempeſt that now aſſails her, and ſhall continue to increaſe her induſtry, we cannot doubt but the time will ſpeedily arrive, when the government of this kingdom may obtain a loan of the city of London of twenty or thirty millions in gold, with more facility than Henry the Fifth borrowed fourteen thouſand pounds.

Mr. Paine very tritely obſerves, "that it "is worthy of obſervation, that every caſe "of a failure in finance, ſince the ſyſtem of "paper began, has produced a revolution in "Government, either total or partial."

This is as obvious as if he ſaid, that a man

who could not pay his debts would find his affairs greatly deranged; but the inſolvency to which he conſtantly alludes never can happen.

Firſt, becauſe the nation has ever been renowned for its good faith; ſecondly, becauſe the debt ſcarcely amounts to one tenth part of the national property; thirdly, becauſe it certainly and ſlowly can be paid off without detriment to the community; and, laſtly, becauſe ſuch inſolvency would diſhonor the nation, and ruin a vaſt body of good ſubjects; whoſe deſtruction might convulſe the empire to its very center.

The lands of this kingdom, including the cultivable lands of Scotland, amount to about forty millions of acres. The perſonal property of this kingdom is immenſe; the plate and jewels only, cannot be worth leſs than one hundred millions ſterling; in fine, the value of the national property probably exceeds two thouſand four hundred millions ſterling, excluſive of her Eaſt and Weſt India poſſeſſions.

Now let us ſuppoſe that a mercantile houſe, who upwards of a century has enjoy-

ed a character of honor and integrity, poſſeſſed of about 24,000l. in lands, increaſing as certainly in value, as money depreciates or loſes its value; poſſeſſed alſo of conſiderable property and connections in the colonies; let us next ſuppoſe ſuch a perſon indebted about three thouſand five hundred pounds, chiefly to his children, for the intereſt of which, and not for payment of the principal, he was only amenable. Surely no man of candour or experience would ſuppoſe the perſon alluded to, in the moſt diſtant degree of danger from inſolvency. But it may be alledged, that this eſtimation conſiderably exceeds that by Sir W. Pulteney, and alſo in a conſiderable degree the actual national rental.

To the firſt objection it is alledged, that Sir W. Pulteney's eſtimation was during the American war, when eſtates ſold for twenty-five years purchaſe; whereas at preſent they currently ſell from thirty to forty. To the ſecond objection it is alledged, that, much to the credit of the Engliſh gentry, their lands are conſiderably under-rented, particularly if regard be had to the preſent very ex-

orbitant prices of corn, cattle*, and all other ſorts of produce. From the year 1750 until 1766, in the beſt provinces of America, the farmers ſold their wheat at two ſhillings per buſhel, and their beef, mutton, and pork, did not average to them more than one penny half-penny per pound. It is confeſſed that the Americans paid no rent; but the then inconveniences of a new ſoil, and the advanced price of labour, perhaps, put him on a worſe footing than the Engliſh farmer, who paid rent.

Mr. Paine frequently perverts the meaning of Mr. Adam Smith; in page 14 he reprehends him for ſpeaking too reſpectfully of the Bank of England. It is well known that the Bank was erected for great and

* A Scotch gentleman of much reſpectability lately ſold thirty-ſeven cattle (chiefly three years old) for 511*l.* 8*s.* His grandfather would have ſold an equal number for as many pounds Scots money, which is twelve for one leſs valuable than ſterling. Indeed this Eſſayiſt remembers the time when the cattle in queſtion would not have ſold for 120*l.*

The farmers moſt artfully and fallaciouſly alledge the increaſe of taxes and advanced expence in the cultivation of their lands; the truth is, that theſe additional expences bear no ſort of proportion to the advanced prices of cattle, corn, and all other ſorts of produce.

truly national purpoſes; conſequently a proper correſpondence ever muſt exiſt betwixt it and government; but the connection is not more cloſely drawn at preſent, than in all former times.

He exaggerates, as four to one, the notes of the Bank at preſent in circulation; and he has not the candor to confeſs that they are not a legal tender, and never can be detrimental in circulation, as their emiſſion is warranted and circumſcribed by the charter of the Bank, than which no banking eſtabliſhment on earth can be better ſecured or directed.

Mr. Paine alſo makes an unjuſt compariſon betwixt France and England. He ſuppoſes, that as much ready money was neceſſary to the circulation of that arbitrary kingdom, a ſum of money proportioned to the taxes of this kingdom is abſolutely neceſſary.

This aſſertion is founded in error; for in Great Britain much leſs ready money is neceſſary; becauſe the perfect ſecurity of her free government renders paper credit equally efficient.

Not content with highly exaggerating the notes of the Bank of England in circulation,

he inſiſts that they form part of the national debt, which is a manifeſt miſrepreſentation; nor is his aſſertion concerning the amount of the national debt intitled to better credit.

Page 15, he prompts evil-diſpoſed perſons to reject the notes of the Bank, as a more effectual mode of weakening the conſtitution than by holding ſeditious meetings. Men of Mr. Paine's ſtamp are very little converſant with the notes of the Bank of England; we cannot, however, imagine that any man of property would be ſo unjuſt to himſelf and the community, as criminally to endeavour to leſſen the national proſperity. But ſuch deſign would be as vain as criminal; for a doubt cannot exiſt in the mind of any well-informed perſon, but that very ſufficient quantities of gold are always ready to meet every occaſion. Indeed the ſuppoſed deſigns of ſuch malevolent perſons would be fruſtrated, in the very nature of things; for, admitting that they choſe to receive gold only at the Bank, yet neceſſity, or intereſt, would ſpeedily compel them to paſs it into circulation, by which means it would ſoon join the ſtream from which it iſſued.

But for argument's ſake let it be admitted that not one guinea remained in the kingdom; even in this caſe, a brave, wiſe, and free nation would not be deſtitute of reſources. She would only have to emit a ſum, in ſtate money, neceſſary to her circulating medium, on the principle formerly practiſed by Maryland, Pennſylvania, New Jerſey, and New York, when, according to Voltaire, their country exhibited the beſt picture of the golden age that ever exiſted on earth.

This paper money was a legal tender; and by the ſtability of the ſecurity on which it was emitted, and the honorable manner in which it was redeemed and paid off, it was preferable to gold and ſilver, ſo long as it exiſted, that is, until the Britiſh Government was abrogated.

In his laſt page Mr. Paine obſerves, "that "the aſſignats have ſolid property in reſerve, "the national domains; but that Bank notes "have none—that they order things better "in France:" And in ſeveral parts of his pamphlet he boaſts of the French conſtitution.

Every man of humanity and virtue muſt

from his ſoul abhor the way they have ordered things in France; and he will ſet the ſame value on her conſtitution, as on her aſſignats.

This boaſted conſtitution, uniting the legiſlative, executive, and judiciary branches, is a ſelf-created monſter, ſeated on a volcano, and the eruption is hourly accelerated by the inflammatory and vicious ingredients of which it is entirely compounded. At preſent it is a military democracy, the moſt horrid of all anarchy; and if time ſhall permit it to feed on its own bowels, it will probably die by its natural death, a return to monarchy.

It may be thought that we have dwelt too long on the pamphlet in queſtion, which is ſold for a trifle, to puſh it into circulation: one remark only, therefore, remains to be made, that as the invariable tender of Paine's life proclaims his malignity to this kingdom, every unbiaſſed perſon ought cautiouſly to ſcrutinize whatever falls from his pen concerning her national intereſts.

We have now to entreat the reader's indulgence, to ſay a few words on the war, and the apparent means by which we may honorably be extricated from it.

Every enlightened, diſintereſted, and impartial perſon will agree, that the preſent war unavoidably reſulted from the revolution of France; and that no conduct conſiſtent with the intereſt, ſafety, and dignity of this country, could have parried it for any length of time.

Deliberately reflecting on the real character of the leaders of the French revolution, we dare not believe that any delicacy of conduct, any reſtraint of principles, human or divine, could have reſtrained them from a war with this kingdom, ſo eſſential to the conſummation of their flatigious deſigns. It was indeed as natural for Marat, Petion, Robeſpierre, Carriere, Hebert, Fouquiere, Tainville, Le Bonne, Colet, D'Herbois, and other monſters of the revolution, to deluge the world with crimes and blood, as for the tygers of Hindoſtan to devour the flocks of that country.

From the commencement their ſole views were directed to two leading meaſures, namely, to ſeize the power and property of the kingdom; and to convulſe the principal nations of Europe, to give conſummation and ſtability to their crimes.

By the moſt infernal arts, they turned men into devils, under the pretence of giving them a government worthy of angels; and by their criminal, frantick, and viſionary theories of government, they have confirmed Mr. Hume's aſſertion, authenticated by the teſtimony of a hundred ages, that all ſyſtems which preſuppoſe great reformation in the manners of mankind are merely deluſive*.

Let us remember that the different rulers of France ſince 1789 have conſtantly, by their decrees and conduct to their Weſt-India

* Such is the imperfection of human laws, that in the beſt government on earth, an artificial famine lately would have taken place, and would have producced all, or perhaps more than all, the horrors of a real famine, if Government moſt wiſely had not granted large bounties on importation of grain, and uſed every other neceſſary precaution to avert the danger. An artificial ſcarcity in the ſummer of 1789 in France, gave the chiefs of the intended revolution powerful means of ſeduction over the minds of the deluded people. Many American merchants have ſuffered very conſiderably by their ſpeculation in corn, which is a public misfortune, as it may diſcourage importation in times of ſcarcity. It is to be ſincerely wiſhed that ſuch merchants had cauſe of action at law againſt thoſe avaricious harpies, who by monopoling and reſtraining corn from the market, endangered the peace and ſafety of the community to ſo great a degree.

colonies, aimed certain ruin to our ſugar iſlands, one conſiderable prop of our conſequence. Let us admit that Great Britain, inſenſible to this, and to her internal tranquillity, had ſupinely beheld the deſtruction of Holland, Flanders, Germany, and Italy, and preſerved a diſgraceful peace until this hour. Can we believe that the republic, in her preſent intoxication, would have reſpected her neutrality more than ſhe has done that of Swiſſerland, Tuſcany, Venice, and other powers? Certainly ſhe would not; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, reaſon as abſurdly as they who believe that peace may for ever be maintained, and wealth accumulated to infinity, forgetting that in their very nature they bear the ſeeds of their deſtruction.

The French revolution makes war on every thing reſpectable in human nature. It annihilates religion, peace, induſtry, virtue, and property, the very foundation of ſociety.

It were abſurd in the extreme to call it a war againſt kings and privileged orders; for it is literally a war againſt all mankind, the diſſolute indigent not excepted; for even thoſe it inceſſantly drags to deſtruction, as verified

in the French guards exterminated at Gemape, and in the other wretched tools who firſt began the revolution, who have ſince periſhed almoſt to a man.

It is indeed as humiliating as ſurpriſing to ſee men of virtue and underſtanding patronize the French revolution; they are miſled, no doubt, by the reſpectable name of liberty, which even Madame Roland on the ſcaffold juſtly proclaimed to be often the watch-word for the commiſſion of many crimes. Such men aſſuredly were not at Paris in July 1789, and at ſubſequent periods of the dreadful events, to ſee, with this Eſſayiſt, the diabolical arts uſed by the deſtroyers of the monarch and monarchy, to prevent its reeſtabliſhment and amelioration, to which the good, but too weak, monarch was as eager to agree as an affectionate parent to promote the proſperity of his darling child.

And here it may be remarked, that France, inheriting more phyſical inconveniences or evils than the Britiſh kingdoms, never, perhaps, can enjoy a government ſo nearly approaching to perfection. Surrounded on the continent by warlike nations, France muſt

ever be defended by many ſtrong fortreſſes and by very numerous armies; and in many other reſpects her people, of various climates and tempers, are neither ſo well ſituated or adapted for commerce, agriculture, and a mixed free government, as this kingdom, where phyſical cauſes have powerfully aided her legiſlators; a truth with which thoſe converſant with the government of nations are well acquainted.

Thoſe therefore who conſtantly declaim againſt the war with France, either do not underſtand its true nature, or have a bias to it; and this, indeed, is a ſhocking compliment to their hearts; for language will never be able ſufficiently to expreſs its atrocity, and the irreparable damage it has done to liberty and ſociety; inſomuch, that a generous and humane breaſt ſhudders and revolts at human nature, when he reflects that it is capable of ſuch monſtrous enormities.

Every wiſe conſideration commanded the nations of Europe to declare war againſt France, and prevent her, by her criminal procedure and example, from ruining herſelf and her co-eſtates of the great community of Europe.

Poſterity will vehemently condemn thoſe nations, who, purſuing a policy temporal, contracted, and ungenerous, ruined their neighbours, and opened the ſluices of ſlow, but perhaps ſure, misfortune on their own dominions.

This nation hitherto has been the bulwark of Europe, and her national ſpirit has been as nobly diſtinguiſhed as in former wars: what is ſhe then to do? Is ſhe ſupinely to relinquiſh her conſequence and independance? Is ſhe to betray and abandon her conſtitution, and meanly to beg peace, becauſe the feeble or ill-directed efforts of Europe have thrown a moſt alarming and ſeemingly irreſiſtable power into the hands of France? This important queſtion merits the moſt ſerious conſideration. Is there no medium, no hope at preſent of a juſt and reaſonable termination of this moſt calamitious of all wars? Perhaps not. It ſeems to be a well-founded general opinion, that the preſent rulers of France can only govern the veſſel of ſtate in ſtorms, that they dread the annihilation of their power in the return of their numerous armies to the republic; that the vaſt tide of their ſucceſſes will ſwell their demands to a

level with their acquiſitions. If this opinion is well founded, ſhe will not agree to terms ſuch as this nation can in prudence, ſafety, or honor accept.

She will probably demand the conqueſts made from her, and inſiſt on retaining Holland, Flanders, the richeſt part of Germany; in effect, all Italy; and to poſſeſs much more influence over Spain then even the family compact unjuſtly gave to the French monarchy.

By retaining all St. Domingo, ſhe will, in effect, poſſeſs a monoply of ſugar, coffee, and indigo; and command Jamaica in war; and in peace, deſtroy it by the principles of deluſive equality which ſhe holds out to the blacks, utterly ſubverſive of all colonial proſperity. Such treaty, in addition to her natural force, would give the Republic a fee ſimple of one hundred ſhips of war, and of one hundred complete regiments; together with a preponderance irreſiſtible in Europe.

Under their legal governments the vaſt riches of Holland and Flanders contributed little to their aid and defence; and rather ſerved to corrupt the diſpoſition of the people,

by rendering them turbulent, voluptuous, and a prey to invaſion.

The noyade, fuſillade, and guillotine of France will, however, render perfectly efficient the wealth and numbers of theſe countries; for it is an undoubted fact, that in our climates courage and diſcipline are accidental circumſtances, entirely dependent on the chiefs of mankind; conſequently the Flemiſh boors may be rendered as excellent ſoldiers as the Dutch are acknowledged to be ſeamen. Indeed this truth is ſo obvious, that thoſe well acquainted with armies and mankind will believe, that if Fredrick the Second had commanded the coaleſced armies he would have obtained repeated Roſbachs, until he had re-eſtabliſhed the throne of France.

Whilſt Great Britain would perceive her antagoniſt thus ſtrengthened, ſhe would, in reality, become proportionally weakened. Shut out from a great part of Europe, ſhe would be confined principally to her colonies, to which, as alledged, the late conduct and decrees of France have ſet an example deſtructive of all induſtry and coloniſation. She would probably be forced by treaty ſolemnly

to acknowledge the inſtability of rank and property, an example dreadful to be conceived.

If, therefore, we adhere to probability, ſuch a peace as at preſent could be obtained, would in every ſenſe, be unworthy the acceptance of this kingdom.

It might prove a fatal truce; ſuch as ambitious Rome granted to luxurious Carthage.

By the very nature of her Government France would be ever bent on war; and two words, Requiſition and Bankruptcy, always will enable her, Gladiator like, to be ready for combat. Whilſt Great Britain, by her good faith, her conſtitution, her commercial ſpirit, and public debt, will ever be averſe to war.

If this kingdom, therefore, ſubmits to an indifferent peace, ſhe will unavoidably have to keep up a very expenſive peace eſtabliſhment, which, in ſuch caſe, ſhe would find it almoſt impoſſible to maintain.

In preference, therefore, to ſuch humiliation and expence, a continuation of the war is infinitely preferable; and every hour of its duration is ſo much gained to humanity.

But here the reader exclaims, "Are we, then, to be entirely undone, by continuing a war which daily becomes more ruinous and expenſive?"—We ſhall attempt to prove, that it is by a diſgraceful peace that we can only be undone; and that our Liberty, Property, Religion, Conſtitution, in fine, every thing we hold dear, is only to be preſerved by a vigorous, well-conducted war, until our enemies, exhauſted by their victories, or worn out by anarchy, may fall into a ſtate of languor propitious to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſtate of government as may afford a reaſonable hope of permanent tranquillity.

But, as human affairs are not always the reſult of conſequent conduct, perhaps the Directory may agree to a pacification not derogatory to the dignity and intereſt of theſe kingdoms. Perhaps they may conſider that the Britiſh kingdoms, if rouſed to a ſenſe of their imminent danger, ſuſpending for a time their commerce, and unanimouſly devoting themſelves to war, may once more become terrible to France. Perhaps they may conſider that Ruſſia, as highly intereſted in depreſſing their republic as in ſupporting Auſtria,

may advance a few columns of her invincible troops, led by chiefs worthy to command them: they may conſider, that a Kevenhuller, a Daun, or Laudohn, may aid the Archduke to command the gallant Auſtrian armies; that Europe, rouſed from her inglorious lethargy, may make efforts for her political exiſtence, at leaſt as vigorous as did Auſtria and Pruſſia, in the war of 1756, for objects infinitely leſs conſiderable. The Directory may imagine that their veſſel of ſtate may ſail without the aid of tempeſts, and that they may ſecurely enjoy the empire they have attained; that univerſal empire is not more dangerous to mankind, than liable to be convulſed by the conquered, who ever muſt hold in deteſtation conquerors who have warred in a manner unprecedented amongſt civilized nations. They may at laſt become ſenſible, that no government can be formed on ſtability in which a juſt regard to property is not held ſacred, and therefore recall to the re-poſſeſſion of their eſtates the emigrants, whoſe cauſe is that of all human nature, and ought ſtrenuouſly to be ſupported, not only by every wiſe nation, but by every man of property and

virtue on earth, becauſe in the ruin of thoſe unhappy gentlemen his own is eventually and certainly involved.—The Directory may conceive, that a certain powerful monarch may not clearly view, in the abaſement of his ancient rival, his own permanent aggrandizement, but may dread his becoming tributary to the omnipotence or dreadful dogmas of the French republic: they may apprehend it poſſible, that he may at laſt behold his immortal glory and true intereſt in aſſerting the independence of Europe, for which ſhe might gratefully reward him with Holland and Flanders, and compenſate the Emperor with dominions on the Rhine and in Italy, lately poſſeſſed by powers who, by their incompetence, ſeem unfit for empire.

They are well aware that their great and unmerited ſucceſs is more to be attributed to the diſunion, indeciſion, and incapacity of their enemies, than to the vaſt and unnatural exertions of their dreadfully-tyrannic government, which has devoured a conſiderable part of their capital, with ſeveral millions of their people,—much more, indeed, than their immenſe population can afford; for, according

to Monteſquieu, and the experience of mankind, a nation poſſeſſed of a million of ſubjects cannot, without ruin, keep up, in war, more than ten thouſand troops: they may conſider, therefore, that their enemies, taught wiſdom by dear-bought experience, may again become formidable to them, and again reanimate La Vendée, Brittany, Normandy, and the Lyonnois, to reſtore the altar and throne.

To aſcertain the intentions of the Directory on this head, it is ſaid the Miniſtry have taken the neceſſary meaſures. No doubt, however, can remain, but they will moſt zealouſly emb ace the firſt opportunity of making peace, when it can be effected to the purpoſe.—But if, true to their characters, the rulers of France continue to convulſe the world, every nation in Europe ſhould certainly join to recover their independence; and above all, the three kingdoms, as moſt intereſted, ought to unite in the moſt vigorous and unremitted efforts to abate her dangerous uſurpations and invaſions.

Great, indeed, has been the ſucceſs of France; it is nevertheleſs more imputable to the miſconduct and diſunion of her enemies,

than to her own power; and even now, by unanimity and good conduct on the part of Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Great Britain, affairs may be moſt happily reſtored.

A momentary review of the late events in Italy, and on the Rhine, may partly tend to elucidate our allegations.—When the gallant Imperialiſts overwhelmed the Republicans before Mentz and Manheim, they did not, unfortunately, keep the field during the winter, as did the Pruſſians and Auſtrians throughout the ſevere winter of 1759, when contending for objects comparatively trivial to humanity. Their commiſſary ought to have been compelled to the language of the commiſſary general of Frederick the Second, *Je ferai l'impoſſible poſſible!* Frankfort, and other countries on the Rhine, ſince plundered and ruined by France, ought to have been forced to afford part of that treaſure, ſince torn from them, to have enabled their gallant deliverers to have made a winter campaign, which probably would have produced great effects, as they are ever better enabled to ſuſtain ſuch a campaign than their enemies.

If we look to the dominions of the king of

Sardinia, we ſcarcely know by what means thoſe almoſt impregnable poſts were loſt. In vain do we look for the lineal deſcendant of that Victor Amadeus, who, in the war of 1702, bravely combated France for the independence of Europe; and, after many defeats and reverſes of fortune, ſcorning inglorioufly to ſubmit, ſuffered himſelf and his royal family to be beſieged four months in his capital, by 80,000 French troops commanded by the Duc de la Feuilade, who was defeated, and compelled to raiſe the ſiege, by the Imperialiſts.

If the King of Sardinia had remembered his deſcent, and the very important poſt aſſigned him by Providence, he would, like King William, have died in the laſt ditch, rather than have ſurrendered his country, and the garden of Europe, to the ſavage crew who have overwhelmed it with every ſpecies of miſery, horror, and degradation. It would indeed ſeem as if Europe, in the laſt forty years of this century, had exulted too much in her arts, commerce, elegance, and eaſe: like a diamond, ſhe appears to have loſt in weight what ſhe has acquired in poliſh. It is

indeed a melancholy truth, that every ſtep towards advanced ſociety is a retreat from the Campus Martius; and that the more refined men become, the leſs they are fitted to defend themſelves.

It is confeſſed, that we ſcarcely ſee even the ſurface of things: unacquainted with the force, diſcipline, and temper of the armies employed, and with the orders and deſigns of the chiefs, we conſequently have no clue but events on which to found opinion. Unhappily, theſe ſeem too well to authoriſe our humble ſtrictures.

To the Rhine we turn our eyes with ſorrow*. We venerate the youthful chief, the deſcendant of ſo many heroes; and confeſs, that the circumſtances of the times, the nature of the untoned Germanic league, and the conſiderable detachments unhappily neceſſary to Italy, in many inſtances ſhackled, or were unpropitious to, his operations; that his enemies, commanding very ſuperior numbers, and ſetting no value on the loſs of men, dared at all times to enterprize that which a prince could not who is circumſcribed in numbers,

* This was written on the 7th of Auguſt.

and by a regard to humanity. Nevertheleſs, we dare not doubt but that future De la Feuquieres will arraign ſeveral of the diſaſtrous events of this unhappy campaign.

Judging, as we do, by events, much delicacy and circumſpection is certainly neceſſary. But we perceived an offenſive war degenerate into a defenſive one, of continued retrograde; we ſaw poſts of the very firſt conſequence entruſted to the troops of the circles and petty princes, which in the very nature of their eſtabliſhment, and by the teſtimony of Frederick the Second, and the evidence of the American war, appear to be as inferior, as the troops of the great Germanic powers are excellent. The republican armies were not vigorouſly attacked before their junction; and no glorious deciſive day, no Prague, no Frankfort on the Oder, no Collen, marked the loſs of ſo many noble countries.

Indeed, the meretricious rhodomontades of the French military chiefs to the Directory, deſcriptive of thoſe mournful events, are confirmative; for never did great men announce important victories, ſave in words modeſt, conciſe, and ſublime. In fine, a ſad reverſe,

perhaps not irreparable, has happened in Germany, occaſioned by the misfortunes of Italy, by the indeciſion and want of zeal in the princes on the Rhine, and by the errors of the Auſtrian commanders, rather than by the numbers and courage of the armies of the Republic. At the opening of the campaign, ſhe was indeed exhauſted of every thing, but two very neceſſary articles in war, men and arms. In vain ſhe had recourſe to the miſerable expedient of forced loans; and ſhe was unqueſtionably reduced to her *ne plus ultra*, the hope of deſpoiling ſurrounding nations. Conſequently, if Italy and Germany had been properly defended, the happieſt conſequences were to have been expected.

The Emperor, emulating the generous efforts of his anceſtors in wars much leſs conſequential, will not abandon himſelf, nor ſee Europe proſtrate to rapacity, atheiſm, and tyranny: he will generouſly remember that, on the preſent dreadful occaſion, it is as neceſſary for nations to defend themſelves to extremity, as for a gentleman, outraged in his honor, riſque and even to ſacrifice his exiſtence.

Great Britain, faithful to her dignity and independence, will, no doubt, furniſh him with every neceſſary pecuniary aid.

It is therefore to be wiſhed, and hoped, that Europe will unite to force the French invaders back to their exhauſted country, where their evil paſſions evaporating, they may in time become leſs dangerous to their neighbours.—But if, dead to their dignity and independence, they imitate the fallen ſovereigns of Sardinia and Spain, it is nevertheleſs incumbent on this kingdom, at all events, to continue the ſtruggle, until time ſhall bring forth the deſirable moment for an honorable and durable peace.

In caſe the war is prolonged, we probably ſhall have to contend with Spain; for the conduct of that court, in her politics with France, is ſuch, as Monſieur de Callonne very judiciouſly remarks, words cannot be found to characterize. It is as unnatural and prepoſterous as if the benevolent Howard had agreed to ſtrict friendſhip with the late Aberſhaw:—an act of madneſs which could not have entered into his imagination, except in the moments of delirium, or when a piſtol

was levelled at his breaſt to extort a conceſſion ſo repugnant to his generous ſoul. Even ſo will the alliance be regarded by every generous, virtuous, and noble Spaniard.

In fine, it can only be accounted for on the principles of the treaty which the Republic concluded with the King of Sardinia, in which ſhe ſtripped him of every thing but his capital; and, to prove his ſincerity, ſhe has ſince demanded that alſo.—The Republic inſiſts that the King of Spain ſhall declare againſt Great Britain: and he will do it; for, from the hour he ſigned the death-warrant of his honor, in the treaty with the murderers of his relation, whoſe anceſtor placed him on his throne, he ſeemed bent on the deſtruction of his kingdom and invaluable colonies, who probably will conſider Great Britain as the bulwark of Chriſtianity and Humanity, and as their fitteſt ally and protector.

If we may dare to reaſon on ſtrong grounds of probability, the league in queſtion will not, in reality, be ſo dangerous, as menacing in appearance.

All leagues carry in their boſoms the ſeeds of perpetual diſunion; and this truth we have

unhappily experienced, where honor, intereſt, and every other powerful motive, ought to have promoted their union. The nations to which we allude, ever deteſted each other; and the French republican, full of levity, atheiſm, and inſubordination, is the very reverſe of the ſedate, religious, and obedient Spaniard. Spain has long ſince neglected her military career; and it is hoped that her wealth may often reward our gallant ſeamen.

Such an event will ſtill bind our connexion cloſer with America, whoſe intereſt, language, and manners, powerfully diſpoſe her to us.—Certainly ſhe ought not, in wiſdom, to behold with indifference the vaſt power of France, who ſports with the independence of nations. She has much to apprehend from a ſecond compact betwixt France and Spain, which may become much ſtronger, and more dangerous, than the former. The Republic, it ſeems, is accuſtomed to make ſecret articles with the powers with whom ſhe treats, or rather whom ſhe conquers: America will therefore guard againſt open or ſecret machinations: indeed, the wiſdom of her preſent

councils ſeems a ſufficient guarantee to her on this head *.

In caſe the war is prolonged, no doubt but it will be proſecuted with deciſion, intrepidity, and vigour, proportioned to the vaſt magnitude of its object; and our enemies, it is hoped, will be convinced that no conſideration of danger or expence can deter theſe kingdoms from aſſerting and maintaining their independence, honor, and intereſt.

Great are the reſources of this empire, which the Miniſtry know judiciouſly how to ſelect and employ; for hitherto they ſeem wiſely to have placed taxation on the ſhoulders of thoſe beſt able to ſupport it.

This war, beyond all poſſibility of doubt, is a war againſt property; and ſuch as do not acknowledge this truth, are not to be reaſoned with. It is therefore fitting that property ſhould bear the burthen of a war in defence of property, which is the foundation of ſo-

* America ought with a jealous eye to regard the conſiderable emigration of Carmagnol French to her territories. They may embody themſelves, or coaleſce with the evil-diſpoſed of that country, or with the Canadians, and receive ſuch ſupport from France and Spain as might render them formidable to that riſing, but juvenile, empire.

ciety. If we humbly attempt to ſuggeſt any objects of taxation, it is not that we have the ſimplicity to imagine that they are all entirely practicable, or that they are unknown, or preferable to ſuch as may be brought forward by thoſe whoſe departments direct to ſuch affairs. It is becauſe we are impelled by our zeal to point out ſuch as are obvious to our very humble imagination, in reply, as it were, to thoſe who, from ignorance or deſign, continually aſſert the inability of the nation farther to maintain a war for every thing that is dear to her.

We therefore would wiſh to ſee the adoption of Sir W. Pulteney's ſcheme of taxation. —One *per cent.* or more if neceſſary, on the aggregate amount of all real property, and a tax on a conſiderable part of perſonal property, to be levied annually for and during the war.—Three *per cent.* on the annual income of all funded property; and on all money at intereſt on mortgage, or otherwiſe. —Three *per cent.*, *ad valorem*, annually, on all gold and ſilver plate. (Perhaps it would be proper to exempt from taxation all real property under 10*l.* yearly income, all per-

ſonal property under 500l. capital, and plate when the quantity did not exceed 20 ounces). —A tax of five guineas on thoſe who wear diamonds, or other jewels, on their heads, necks or breaſts.—Of a guinea on each perſon poſſeſſed of or wearing a gold watch.—An additional tax on all curricles, and other private carriages; and on men ſervants, where more than two are kept in a family.

The roads of this kingdom are kept in excellent repair, but the expence to travellers is enormous; conſequently the time may arrive when they ought to become an object of taxation, as often ſuggeſted.

A tax on all perſons who, betwixt June the 15th and October the 15th, ſhall leave their ordinary places of abode for eight days, and reſort to watering places, coaſtwiſe, or elſewhere; to wit, of four guineas on the individuals of each family who travel in their own carriage or on horſeback, and one guinea for each of their domeſtics; and two gnineas on all others who do not.

Not only London, but every town, diſtrict, hundred, and village, pours out its ſatiated inhabitants, to the number of at leaſt one

hundred thouſand perſons; very few indeed of which go in ſearch of health. This tax might be collected by the Hair-powder collectors, and enforced by a heavy penalty on all ſuch lodging-houſes as admit ſuch travellers without licence.

An additional tax on all parks or pleaſure grounds. Thoſe are highly ornamental, and are ever valuable, by producing ſome timber and paſturage; and perhaps by inducing the proprietors to a ſummer reſidence on their eſtates. But all theſe conſiderations are not ſo valuable to the community as if in tillage, to which daily leſs and leſs ground is allotted, occaſioned by the too high profits of graſing, and the immenſe quantity of hay neceſſary to horſes, who ſeem to give way to human kind no where except in China.

An additional tax on bricks. Much evil is to be apprehended from the daily augmentation of the capital, and large cities inhabited by many luxurious rich and depraved poor.—If, happily for mankind, time or accident ſhould reſtore the throne of France, the monarch ſhould alternately hold his court at Orleans, Tours, and other provincial cities.

An additional tax on penſions, in this hour of public exigency, would be proper.

Perhaps an equal land-tax might be ſubſtituted in lieu of a tax on real property; but this at preſent might not be ſo eligible, as it would fall ſhort of the national want.

Perhaps a tax on all eſtates *ad valorem*, on the principles laid down by that generous patriot Sir Francis Blake Delaval, might be better than the taxes already ſuggeſted.—Adverting to the principle, that a perſon poſſeſſed of 10,000l. *per annum* can better ſpare 3000l. out of his income, to the national neceſſities, than a hundred perſons, poſſeſſed of 100l. a year, can pay one guinea each.

The Eaſt and Weſt Indies ought, and doubtleſs would moſt generouſly, contribute their benevolence, in aid of a war on which, hyperbole apart, their very exiſtence depends. Their donation would be wanted to aid and comfort the ſeamen and ſoldiers in their different iſlands with freſh proviſions, ſtrong ſpruce beer, &c.; and in furniſhing black pioneers, &c. &c.

No colony is better able to contribute than Jamaica, which, notwithſtanding the mo-

mentary war of the Maroons, has been prodigiouſly benefited by the misfortunes of Saint Domingo; ſeeing their ſugars, which previous to the war neated from 10l. to 18l. per hogſhead, have, ſince the calamities of the French ſugar iſlands, produced 30, 40, and even 50l. per hogſhead.

The taxes already ſuggeſted would probably produce from ſixteen to twenty millions annually; and, if this ſum is not equal to the national expenditure, the deficiency might be raiſed, as before obſerved, by an additional tax on real property, or by loan; for, whatever may be alleged, money is not ſo ſcarce as dear, occaſioned by the war, which neceſſarily creates a great demand for it.

In caſe the annual expence of the war ſhould be raiſed in this, or any preferable mode, perhaps it would be expedient to iſſue, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, a ſum in national Bank notes or Exchequer bills, payable in twelve months, nearly to the amount of the projected taxes, declared to be a tender in all caſes, and to be ſunk in fifteen months; that is, to be paid to the holders from the receipt or produce of the ſaid annual taxes.

No doubt Adminiſtration would, at the end of the war, repeal all ſuch taxes; except, perhaps, a ſmall portion of thoſe which ſhould be found to be leaſt objectionable, the produce of which might be veſted in the Commiſſioners for diſcharging the debt incurred in the preſent war.

All new taxes, in their operations, tend to diminiſh thoſe already in being, and, in the very nature of things, ever muſt be diſagreeable and inconvenient.

Innumerable other objections will be made to all and every of thoſe here or elſewhere propoſed, particularly to an equal land-tax, which will be moſt vehemently oppoſed by tens of thouſands with ſome colour of juſtice. They will alledge, that in the purchaſe of their eſtates they were obliged to pay a very valuable additional conſideration, on account of their being rated at a very low land-tax.—To this and every other objection, real or ſpecious, the anſwer is ſhort, clear, and obvious; namely, that when a veſſel is endangered by the violence of a tremendous ſtorm, the wiſe officers and crew will ſacrifice part of the lading to ſave her, although the ſordid

owners were on board, and had the madneſs or folly to refuſe their aſſent.

The national proprietors would do well to remember, that ſince the Revolution, commerce, the child of the conſtitution, has increaſed the value of their eſtates as five or ſix to one; that if on this occaſion they do not ſupport her, their lands, inſtead of ſelling throughout the kingdom on an average at thirty pounds per acre, *may be torn from them*, or fall to the current price of laſt century, five pounds per acre, and the price which this Eſſayiſt, as an American loyaliſt, charged to Government for his eſtates in Kent county, Maryland*, richer in natural ſoil and woods than any he has beheld from Dijon to the extremity of Scotland.

If, previous to the French revolution, the Nobles, Clergy, Bankers, Merchants, Farmers, and other capitaliſts, who have been exiled from, or murdered in, France, could have been aſſembled, and thus addreſſed by

* He received in compenſation, from Government, three pounds ſix ſhillings per acre for his eſtate, which, in conſequence of his ſpecial attainder, had been ſold by the Government of Maryland.

the good, but weak, Monarch, "A deficiency "in the revenues of the ſtate has ariſen of two "or three millions ſterling annually; it "therefore is incumbent on you, my good "ſubjects, to lower the intereſt of the public "debt from five to three *per cent.*, or to ſuf- "fer taxes to be impoſed on your real and "perſonal eſtates; otherwiſe, if you do not, "influenced as I am, unhappily for mankind, "by the ſpecious, but weak, Necker, I muſt "convene the Notables; and Providence has "deigned to write on tables of braſs, which "I now preſent for your peruſal, the deplor- "able evils which from that dreadful ſource "are to iſſue, to the deſtruction of us all, and "to the laſting ruin of Europe."

To the proprietors of the three kingdoms, and of the colonies, we ſubmit the anſwer which the French nation, according to our ſuppoſition, would have made to their unfortunate ſovereign.

If the inhabitants of Holland, Flanders, Germany, and Italy, could have foreſeen the dreadful ſtate to which they have been reduced, would they not have done well to have granted, for defence of their eſtabliſhed go-

vernments, part of that wealth which has been torn from them by their luſtful conquerors?

In fine, conſidering the immenſe wealth of this kingdom, the almoſt regal ſtate of the great, the luxurious and vaſt expenditure of the rich, the eaſe and diſſipation of almoſt all other claſſes of ſociety, we are aſtoniſhed to hear it conſtantly re-echoed, that reſources are wanting to this kingdom to carry on a war, on which not only her commerce and proſperity, but her independence, her very exiſtence, depends.

The truth is, that reſources are not wanting. The *deſideratim* ſeems to be inclination in the great and rich to place taxation on ſubſtantial means ſuited to the ends.

The ſubjects of the late King of Pruſſia, in the war of 1756, paid nine ſhillings land-tax. God forbid that the exigences of this kingdom ſhould ever require ſuch a ſacrifice; but aſſuredly there is a medium betwixt that enormous ſum and the very trifling land-tax paid by many large eſtates in this kingdom.

Thoſe well-meant effuſions are ſubmitted with all poſſible deference; and, if their au-

thor dare ſpeak of ſo inconſiderable a ſubject as himſelf, he has not always been inattentive to the times, as may be ſeen by the extracts here ſubjoined of a pamphlet haſtily written by him in the beginning of the American war, entitled "Plain Truth*," in anſwer to a

* "With the utmoſt deference to the honorable Con-
"greſs, I do not view the moſt diſtant gleam of aid from
"foreign powers. The princes alone capable of ſuccour-
"ing us, are the ſovereigns of France and Spain. If,
"according to our author, we poſſeſs an eighth part of the
"habitable globe, and actually have a check on the Weſt-
"India commerce of England, the French indigo, and
"other valuable Weſt-India commodities, and the Spaniſh
"galleons, are in great jeopardy from our power.

"The French and Spaniards are therefore *wretched po-*
"*liticians, if they do not aſſiſt England in reducing her colo-*
"*nies to obedience.*—Pleaſantry apart, can we be ſo deluded
"as to expect aid from thoſe princes, which, inſpiring
"their ſubjects with a reliſh for liberty, might *eventually*
"*ſhake* their arbitrary thrones? Natural avowed enemies
"to our ſacred cauſe, will they cheriſh, will they ſupport
"the flame of liberty in America, ardently intent on ex-
"tinguiſhing its latent dying ſparks in their reſpective
"dominions? Can we believe that thoſe princes will
"offer an example *ſo dangerous to their ſubjects and colonies,*
"by aiding thoſe provinces to independence? If inde-
"pendent, aggrandized by infinite numbers from every
"part of Europe, this continent would rapidly attain
"power aſtoniſhing to imagination. Soon, very ſoon,

publication of our preſent antagoniſt Paine, and to deter the houſe of Bourbon from her fatal interference in that conteſt*.

" would we be conditioned to conquer Mexico, and all " their Weſt-India ſettlements, which, to annoy or poſ- " ſeſs, we indeed are moſt happily ſituated. Simple and " obvious as theſe truths are, can they be unknown to the " people and princes of Europe? Be it however admitted " that thoſe princes, unmindful of the fatal policy of " Richlieu's arming Charles's ſubjects againſt him, and " the more fatal policy of Lewis the Fourteenth permitting " our glorious deliverer to effect the Revolution," &c. &c. —Page 12, Plain Truth.

* " I would aſk thoſe who aſſert we are to be aided " by France and Spain, on what aſſurance do they ground " their hopes of ſuch aſſiſtance? Did Britain retain Ma- " nilla, Havanna, Martinico, Guadaloupe, or Belleiſle? " Did Britain interfere in the conqueſt of Corſica? Did " ſhe take part, directly or indirectly, with the ſubjects of " France, when late in revolt in the rich iſland of St. Do- " mingo, commonly called Hiſpaniola? Did not Great " Britain with incorruptible integrity, adhering to the ſpi- " rit of her treaties with France, refuſe to aid theſe iſland- " ers, though more than *once* ſolicited and IMPORTUNED " by them for that end? Has France recovered the tone " of her power, weakened by ſo many ſignal defeats? " Are not her finances in deep diſorder, and likely ſo to " continue for many years? Did not theſe *weighty* conſi- " derations lately retain France from ſuccouring the " Turks, though brought to the verge of perdition by " the victories of Ruſſia? The Turks, her ancient *natu-*

He oppoſed American independance becauſe he thought it premature, becauſe he believed, that if precipitated, it would occaſion great evils to America, to Great Britain, and the reſt of Europe*.

" *ral allies*, whoſe very beneficial commerce ſhe almoſt " excluſively enjoyed; a commerce more valuable than " that ſhe could carry on with us, were we raiſed to in- " dependance by her power."

* " Let us ſuppoſe that in the courſe of this war, un- " happily for mankind the glory of Great Britain is " ſtained by repeated diſgraces and defeats, and that ſhe " is for ever ſtripped of her colonies, who become inde- " pendent.

" Ye that are not dead to humanity and every gene- " rous emotion of the human heart, feel ye not compaſſion " for human kind deſtroyed in theſe bloody ſcenes? Do " ye feel no remorſe for the ruin of the Britiſh empire, the " ſcourge of tyrants, the protector of nations and our " ſacred religion? are ye not petrified with horror, in- " dignation and amazement, when informed, that a prin- " cipal cauſe of ſuch bloody and ever deplorable ſcenes is " the reſtleſs ambition of the writer of Common Senſe " and his partizans? impelled, I ſay, by their turbulent " ambition to anticipate an event which the fulneſs of " time would probably produce without bloodſhed.

" Here let us pauſe, and diſpaſſionately examine the " advantages accruing to France and Spain from the ex- " penditure of ſo *much blood*, ſo *much treaſure*. Theſe " advantages we muſt candidly reſolve into humiliation

And here it is but juſt to remark, that independance was ſuggeſted, dictated, nay forced on the Americans, by the incongruity, to give it no harſher epithet, of the inns and outs of this kingdom—*et hinc ille Lachryme.*

Ever deſirous of doing his duty as a good ſubject, he neither aſpires at celebrity nor emolument; entirely unknown to Government, he may truly add, that of the numerous deſcription to which he appertained, it would be difficult to find one who is leſs indebted to the remuneration of this kingdom; inſomuch, that he could ſcarcely have exiſted in it, if ſome property had not fallen to him by

" to Great Britain, and eventual and final ruin *to their* " *colonies.*"

" But our commerce (ſays the author of Common Senſe) " our commerce will repay them." Famed as we are " for gratitude, I ſincerely believe that France and Spain " may ſecurely rely on excluſively enjoying our com- " merce for ages, many ages. After this ſacrifice to truth, " I muſt however acknowledge, that were we to preſent " thoſe powers with the total of our produce for two cen- " turies to come, we ſhould not nearly repay to thoſe " powers, the ſaid expenditure of blood and treaſure."

Extract from the Appendix to Plain Truth, publiſhed in Philadelphia, March 1776.

the death of a relation; nor is he induced to this recital by motives of regret, being moſt generouſly and amply compenſated by the conſcious reflection of having endeavoured to do his duty.

His dream of life being nearly ended, he wiſhed to bear teſtimony that, twelve years before the calamities of France, he ſtrained his feeble voice to point out the rocks on which ſhe was madly precipitating herſelf; and that, after her deſtruction, he deplored it in the anguiſh of his ſoul, and deteſted thoſe monſters who, with the faireſt words and pretences, cruelly and wickedly deſtroyed the monarch and monarchy; becauſe he alſo verily believed that more real calamities had been produced to mankind by a few years of the revolution than the exiſtence of the ancient Government during fourteen centuries had occaſioned; and that the evils reſulting from the eſtabliſhment of the French Republic, as it is improperly called, are incalculable.

Above all, he wiſhed to expoſe the mean, impolitic, and ruinous opinion, dictated by artful men, and credulouſly and fondly circu-

lated by the avaricious, the luxurious, and puſillanimous, that a peace at all events muſt be had.

Finally, he wiſhed to inculcate this certain truth, that it is not by ſhunning, but by bravely meeting danger, that we are to maintain and permanently ſecure our proſperity and independance; and that the road to theſe deſirable objects is only to be found in honor, fortitude, and perſeverance.

CHELSEA, *Auguſt* 11*th* 1796.

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